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THE VALUE OF KNOWLEDGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY
THE RIGHT HON.
VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, K.G.

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The International Federation of University Women.
PAMPHLET NO. 1.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN.

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Council:

The Council is composed of representatives of each national federation or association holding membership in the International Federation, in addition to the four officers elected for the period 1920-22, whose names are printed above.

The purpose of the Federation is to promote understanding and friendship between the university women of the nations of the world, and thereby to further their interests and develop between their countries sympathy and mutual helpfulness.

The means by which the Federation seeks to realise its aims are : (1) encouragement and organisation of exchange of lecturers and students between the universities; (2) endowment of international scholarships and fellowships; (3) establishment of club-rooms and other centres of international hospitality in the cities of the world; (4) co-operation with the national bureaux of international education established in the various countries.

Contributions towards the endowment of scholarships, the establishment of club-rooms and other branches of the work of the Federation will be very welcome and should be sent to the Treasurer or to the Secretary.

Further information will be found on the back cover.

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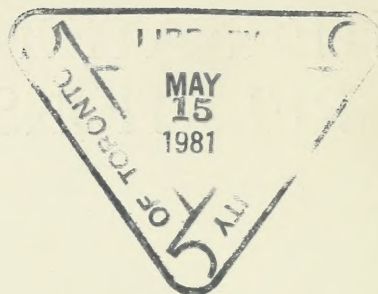
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THE VALUE OF KNOWLEDGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

ADDRESS GIVEN BY
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VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, K.G.,

AT THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL
FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, HELD AT BEDFORD
COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, REGENT'S PARK, MONDAY,
JULY 12TH, 1920.

PROFESSOR CAROLINE SPURGEON IN THE CHAIR.

I.

Ladies and gentlemen, Professor Spurgeon has invited me to offer some words of suggestion and encouragement. Encouragement I would gladly give in any way that I can; suggestion or advice with regard to the formation of the International Federation of University Women, I shall not presume to give. Private conversation and the speeches we have already heard this evening have convinced me that the movement is already in such competent hands that it is not necessary—and indeed it would be presumptuous for people like myself, who are outsiders, who have not initiated it, and who have less practical knowledge of university work and life than the founders—to offer advice upon it. Therefore, what I shall say will be rather of a general character.

I suppose what we all feel is an intense desire never to have again a war like the war we have just passed

through. But, to avoid it, it is essential not merely that there should be good relations between governments, but that there should be good relations between peoples. All the great nations of the world are, or we hope soon will be, democratic nations. That means that it will be in the power of the peoples to prevent the governments going to war; but it also means that the governments will not have the power to prevent war unless the peoples themselves are alert, determined and active to keep the peace. Now the only sure basis of peace, that I can see, is international understanding. That is what your movement is intended to promote; and in helping it I am sure you can do an incalculable amount of good. Your movement is not going to be limited to good understanding between English-speaking peoples; you rightly wish it to be world-wide. And, therefore, I would ask you to bear in mind that if I happen to give, in the course of what I am going to say, illustrations drawn more particularly from British and American experience, I am using these because they are illustrations that come naturally to me after having been some three months in the United States. I am using them as illustrations and not with the idea that this movement is exclusively concerned with the English-speaking peoples.

I will give three interesting experiences which I had during the three months I was in America. One of them was that certain American university women came to me at the British Embassy and told me of this movement. Their particular object in approaching me was that I should do what I could to get the British Government to give facilities for the visit of certain British university women whom they wished to receive in America. Well, I was convinced that it was a thing which it would be very desirable that any government should encourage. But let me make it plain that though I think governments may give help and encouragement to this movement, the

movement should keep itself entirely clear of an official character. It should remain a distinctly university movement in university hands; the power of selection and control should be kept by the universities themselves and they must be very careful never to apply for any government support or help which would in any way cause the movement to be smirched with the suspicion of official political propaganda. I say that by way of explanation. I was so much impressed by what I heard from American university women of the good which had been done by the visit of British university women to America, and the good also done by the visit of American university women to this country, that I did feel great sympathy with the movement. But everything I could do while I was in an official position I am afraid came to nothing at all, and perhaps that is the reason why those who invited me to come here this evening thought, as my official efforts had come to nothing, I might take this unofficial opportunity of expressing my feelings—and that is one reason why I am here.

And then another experience I had was this. You may not at first see exactly how it is relevant to this movement, but I will explain why I think it worth mention. While I was in Washington there took place an International Industrial Conference organised under the League of Nations. America, for reasons which we need not record, was not represented at that Industrial Conference, and it was therefore very incomplete, but in spite of that it was interesting. There were delegates of employers and delegates of trade unions—including both men and women—and I saw something of them during and at the close of the Conference; and the way they spoke of the work of that Conference had a ring of solid interest and satisfaction with their experience that was very remarkable and very convincing. I came to the conclusion that that International Conference must have had a very great

effect in improving international understanding, a much greater effect probably than many a conference which is called with the direct object of promoting good international understanding. The object of that conference was industrial. I think it was precisely because it was called to discuss not the political relations between nations but certain aspects of industrial life, the labour question in different countries; and because people came together to discuss a practical part of international life, to compare their difficulties, to endeavour to arrive at practical co-operation on one aspect of international life, that the conference had solid results. Now, does not that apply to university women and men coming together? They come together not necessarily with a direct political object; they come together on the common ground of university life and work; and having this practical basis which is common to them all, they have a starting point which gives them more opportunity of understanding each other—each other's minds—than if they merely met for a political conference to promote good international understanding.

In the third place, I came over on board ship with a certain number of Rhodes scholars who were coming to Oxford for the first time. More than twenty were American, some were Canadian. I had the opportunity of getting to know some of them—of finding out what their aspirations were, their hopes of experience in an English university; and I can only say that it left me filled with a desire that this should be extended and that we should correspondingly have numbers of British students who would go and take a course at an American university. One of the objects of this Federation, I understand, is to promote interchange of professors and students between different countries, and you will readily understand how that little experience with the Rhodes scholars has made me sympathise with this movement for the interchange of

professors and students between different universities, which I believe will be of the very greatest value in promoting good international understanding. So much for these three particular experiences.

II.

Now let me say a word more on the general question. Before the war there was a great deal of talk of international goodwill, and a great many conferences to promote it—the Hague Conference and many others. I won't go into the reasons why they did not prevent the war, and I do not wish to deprecate any of them. They were all good as far as they went. But a great many of them did not do the good that was expected because they were transitory and ephemeral. Now this movement, as I understand it, is to be continuous. It is going to lead more and more to personal meeting between members of the universities in different countries, and it is going to grow as a permanent institution which is keeping nations in touch; not meeting just once and separating, but having as its outcome practical permanent intercourse and interchange of professors and students. That is a most important point. I think we suffered before the war sometimes—I won't say from having too much enthusiasm for international relations, but from having too little preparation of solid understanding. I once heard a man in public life (a Cabinet Minister as a matter of fact, though nothing would make me disclose whether he is still a Cabinet Minister) described by a friend—a candid friend of course—as a heart of gold with a head of feathers. I have often wondered whether it would be preferable to be called a heart of gold and a head of feathers, or a head of gold and a heart of feathers. I have sometimes wondered which one ought to prefer, because they are quite different things. However that may be, the enthusiastic, the emotional side is not going

to do much unless it has some solid foundation; it may even do mischief. But I would not have you suppose that I regard the enthusiastic side as unimportant. It is not only important, it is absolutely essential that right feeling must come first. You will never have right action or right thinking without right feeling. That is my view of public and private affairs, and therefore it is absolutely essential that your movement to-day should start with a real active desire and enthusiasm to promote international goodwill. But you will go on, and precisely because it is a university movement I am sure you are specially fitted to go on, to base that desire and the work which follows on real understanding, because it is understanding between the peoples which is the key-note of success and stability in the whole matter. Now universities are specially suited to carry on that work. In the first place, they are, in each country, permanent institutions. In the next place, they are organised. You have an organisation of universities which can select people to go and visit foreign countries and which will also be prepared to receive people who are selected by universities in foreign countries. Further, I think the universities—more almost than any other institution in the country—have a starting point of common sympathy in their work, because in each nation, or between the universities of each nation, there may be rivalry, but it is rivalry without hostility. There may and there ought to be emulation, but emulation without jealousy. And the universities meeting together on the ground of education are meeting together to promote something which each university may legitimately wish to have the first reputation in promoting, that is, knowledge; but which each wishes equally to see widely spread and increased in other universities also. Then, the universities are becoming increasingly important in the life of nations. Their roots are going deeper and deeper every year into national life.

As countries become more democratic so do the roots go down deeper and become more democratic. I quite agree that universities are not everything in national life, and that *rapprochement* and good understanding between universities of different nations would not by themselves ensure good relations between these nations. But I am equally sure of this, that you will not have good relations on a solid secure basis between any two nations unless the universities of these two nations are in touch and friendship with each other. That, I think, is absolutely true.

III.

I came the other day across a formidable list of qualities required for the type of mind which was to be effective in promoting good international understanding. There were seven of them :—

The first was reverence for truth and accuracy of statement; the second was sense of proportion; the third was mental poise; the fourth was disciplined intelligence; the fifth was tolerance; the sixth was sympathy; and the seventh was imagination.

Well, that is a long list, and I admit a good list. I am not going to discuss how far you can find them all combined in any one person, nor am I going through their respective merits. I am going to restrict the few remarks I shall make upon them to the subject of truth. When I was in America I sometimes asked Americans who knew Britain well what they considered to be the chief difficulty or obstacle, in the two countries respectively, to thorough understanding between them. Of course I did not always get the same answer. One of the most interesting answers I got was from an American university woman, and she said to me, after considering the question a little: "I think the two chief obstacles are, in England, ignorance of the United States; in the United States,

misconception of England." You observe the difference between ignorance and misconception, and I think the answer is worth some attention. It applies, of course, not only to relations between America and Great Britain, it applies very much to international relations generally. There are between nations, of course, some difficulties and obstacles which are based upon a real conflict of material interest. It is the business of statesmen, and the business of public opinion to overcome them. But they are there; they have a solid basis of fact. But those difficulties and obstacles which arise from misconception and ignorance have no solid basis of fact and yet may do even more mischief perhaps than the difficulties which arise from more real conflict of national interests; although they have no solid basis, I think they are the more dangerous. What is the cure? The cure for ignorance is knowledge; the cure for misconception is truth. Surely that comes very much home to the business of universities. Knowledge and truth are not only subjects which they specially set out to pursue and acquire, but subjects which they specially set out to practice themselves in teaching. Take truth. First of all you have to find it, and in order to find it you want a mind or a temperament which has certain qualifications for the search. The person who is to find truth must be keen without bias and interested without prejudice. If people are not keen or interested they won't search for truth; if they are biassed or prejudiced they won't find it. Therefore, in the first place, we have to take a little trouble in studying other nations to make sure that as our interest increases we do not accumulate prejudices which prevent us from finding the truth.

Then there is another difficulty about truth. The truth, when you do find it, is often not agreeable; it is sometimes very disagreeable. There is a fable—I think a modern fable—which I read somewhere of how the people

of a city were very much set against falsehood, and they decided that all liars should be whipped, but when a man came and told them the truth they hanged him! Well, there is that difficulty. I really do not think that applies so much to finding out the truth about nations. I think it is true of nations, as an Englishman once said of individuals, that they are exceedingly conscious already of each other's shortcomings. Various agencies, to which I need not refer particularly, tell nations a great many disagreeable things about each other. They are happily not all true, but such truth about nations as is disagreeable I rather think is already known, and the truth—a good deal of the truth—which is agreeable, is still concealed. I think if we go out on this search for international truth we shall find it, and I think that the whole tendency of the speeches we have heard this evening—which gave you a most convincing account of what the results have been of the visits of university women to the United States—the whole moral of these speeches was that we were not to be afraid of finding the truth in international knowledge more disagreeable than we expect; on the contrary, the truths to be discovered will be in the main agreeable truths. Therefore, I hope you won't think I am pessimistic or depressing with regard to the search for truth.

But there is one thing more to be said about it. A very able Ambassador once paid me the compliment, which I valued very much, of saying that in a speech of mine which he had read he had found a sentence of which he particularly approved and with which he entirely agreed, and the sentence was this:—"It is not hard to tell the truth, the difficulty is to get it believed." The Ambassador of whom I speak died some years before the war, but I have often reflected upon that sentence in the years which have passed since, in connection with the war. Well, to get the truth believed I think nothing is

so valuable as personal meeting. Personal meeting will convince people of each other's sincerity, of their good qualities, in a way which no amount of articles in newspapers, however well written or well intentioned, can do. This Federation can do so much by promoting the personal meeting of which Dean Gildersleeve and Professor Spurgeon have already told you the value. It is the best way when you have told the truth of getting it believed and accepted, and it requires comparatively simple qualities. One is sincerity. If people are not sincere I agree that personal meeting is apt to be of the most disappointing kind both at the time and in its results. They must be sincere and they must have just a certain modicum of tact. I say that because I knew a man for whom I had a very great respect—and indeed everybody was devoted to him—a man of the highest character and of the very greatest sincerity. I never knew anybody whose sincerity was more unmistakable. But when he met you he would feel round your mind until he reached the point of disagreement, and if by chance he found a point of agreement he left the subject. It did not impair the devotion of his friends to him or the respect in which he was held, but I think it was a handicap to him in life in making his opinions prevail. And, therefore, I add to that quality of sincerity a certain amount of tact.

IV.

I have not spoken particularly so far with regard to the work of women. I have spoken quite generally. But let me assure you that I have not done it because I was not *thinking* of women. Dean Gildersleeve suggested, I think, that men connected with universities sometimes made omissions with regard to professorships because they were not *thinking* of the possibility of women working in these particular posts. It was not for that

reason. It was for the reason which Dean Gildersleeve gave you in her speech, that as far as this sort of educational work is concerned the work which men and women are to do will be on the same lines and what is applicable to one is applicable to the other. Everything which you propose to do by this International Federation of Women is equally well suited for men to do. Therefore I have not dealt specially with women's work, because really the work is the same for this particular purpose. But I should not like you to think that I do not attach importance to the work which women do in education. It is increasingly important. Professor Spurgeon gave you the figure of the percentage of women who are employed in teaching in the United States. It was 95 per cent. I was told that figure when I was in America, and it is such a tremendous figure that I have never dared to repeat it in this country on my own responsibility. But it is a tremendous thing as she pointed out. Of course that applies to the whole of the teaching in the United States, from elementary schools right up, but even allowing that in the elementary schools the proportion of women is very great, the figure is tremendous.

It is when we come to the public opinion of nations that the part of women—now that they have got the vote, now that they are entering Parliament—is going to be as great as the part of men; they are going to have as much responsibility for public opinion as men have had in the past. If that is so, then I would suggest that women must take their share as actively as men in helping to concentrate public opinion on the question of how future war is to be prevented. I am not going to embark on any discussion of the League of Nations at this hour of the evening. The League of Nations is merely machinery. It is machinery which will be absolutely useless unless public opinion makes use of it. It is true that some of the most important nations are still outside

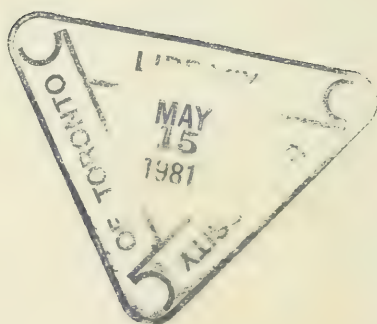
the League, and therefore it cannot be really the complete effective machinery we would like until it is more comprehensive. But it is equally true that if the League of Nations is only machinery, public opinion is going to be helpless unless it has some sort of machinery. We come again to the state of things we had in 1914, and if public opinion is not organised, is not ready to assert itself, well, though the world may not wish it, the world will find itself engaged in war again.

Those who are promoting good international relations should never lose sight of the need of keeping public opinion so alert and determined that when disputes do arise between nations some other method than that of war shall be adopted for settling them. The only way it may be done is by continually increasing, promoting, and keeping up good understanding between the great democracies, and it is because the university life of different nations is so closely interwoven with the national life that I believe universities can do such excellent work.

A great American lawyer and statesman, speaking in America when I was there, said that he believed the great bond between the United States and Britain was not kinship of blood, which, he said, was partial; not even the common language, which was machinery; but the identity of fundamental ideas. As regards Britain and the United States I believe that to be absolutely true. What universities might do as between nations is to bring out an identity of fundamental ideas and make it felt. It is the sort of thing which might exist and not be realised or felt because it is obscured. If there is no identity of fundamental ideas between nations, then let universities help to find out what is the difference and how it ought to be adjusted.

And one thing more. Universities may in all the countries of the world do something to ensure that the

school text books which teach history are re-written in the light of this war. First of all, let the future generation be brought up to know what modern war is like. We did not know it before this war: we know it now. It ought to be our business that every rising generation is brought up to know what war is like. I do not want the history of the past not told; I want it told truthfully. Let the histories of international quarrels be told in a way which is not going to prejudice the present. It is perfectly easy to write a true history, and yet write it in a way which shall put things in a light that will not prejudice international relations at the present day. History is past. It is always possible to show how much things have altered since the past and why there is no necessity for the past to repeat itself. If universities will work in that way, then I believe that, though it may still remain true that at any given moment in international affairs the greatest power in influencing public opinion, for the moment, will be the Press or the Government, yet the work which can be done by the universities and by bodies like the International Federation of University Women in affecting the generations who are going to make the journalists and the politicians, will, as regards its permanent result, be of most incalculable good in promoting real international understanding and the stability of peace in the world.



INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN.

The first Conference of the Federation was held at Bedford College for Women, London, in July, 1920. Fifteen countries were represented. Articles of a constitution and bye-laws were adopted which are calculated to provide effective machinery for ensuring co-operation between the national associations of university women in the various parts of the world. An account of the Conference, including full reports of speeches by Professor Caroline Spurgeon, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, President M. Carey Thomas and other speakers, together with reports on the higher education of women in the countries represented and the text of the constitution and bye-laws, will be found in the Report, Bulletin No. 1. Copies may be obtained from the Secretary (price 1s., postage 2d.) by members of any national association or federation of university women, such as the British Federation of University Women (*Headquarters*, 73 Avenue Chambers, Vernon Place, W.C.1) or the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae. In the United States copies may be obtained from Miss Virginia Newcomb, Institute of International Education, 419 West 117th Street, New York.



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